

128 cont. /

262 cooked down until thick, kumachí, and the extremely "hot" ají in various forms; products of fishing, fowling, and hunting, depending on the wealth of the region and the skill and weapons of the men, who preferentially dedicate their days to this.

535 59. On a par with the intemperance of the Indians in drinking, and a consequence of it, is their fondness for dances.

For all peoples the proverb was made: "From the belly comes the dance"; but among the Indians, dance and kachirí form a perfect equation; in practice the words dancers and drunks can be considered synonymous. The drum, made of monkey skin, the rué pipe, the harsh yagrumo tube, and the happy rattles of the kevei begin and end their sounds precisely at the beginning and end of the pouring of parakarí, paiuá, or any of the other

527 kinds of kachirí. When Indians are interrogated about the
535 object of their fiesta trips, with equal candor and without the
273 slightest embarrassment they will answer that they are going to dance or that they are going to get drunk. And when they do their planting they often told me that they were planting things to get drunk with, rather than thinking of their bread.

797 60. Unfortunately for the Indians, the dance, accompanied
535 by the use of alcohol or alcoholic beverages, had in the area
273 around Roroima, in the three nations grouped about this hydro-
171 graphic node (Venezuela, Brazil and British Guiana), Protestant propagandists, called Hallelujahns. The imaginative lucidity and that indefinable sensation of liberation from the material, which momentarily seem communicated by rhythmic dancing and alcohol and other drugs and infusions, were presented to the Indians by the said propagandists as a celestial illustration, liberation of the spirit and communication with the supersensible world.

This was raining on sop, since the Indians were already on their own too inclined toward drink, and that theory of the liberation of the spirit was also that of their piaches: so that the fondness for liquor was stuck into them like a clinched nail.

/31 cont. /

535 marine blue (almost black) from caruto. This is not an over-
302 all smearing but more or less geometric paintings. As decorations are also used /32/ deer tails, showy bird feathers, rainbow-hued insect elytrums, which the men wear hanging over the back in the tukui dance.

In the parichará dance they use halos or crowns of feathers or palms woven in extremely varied forms and a skirt or covering of palm leaves (preferably of moriche palm), which hangs from waist to feet.

534 69. The musical instruments used are: the small drum
535 (only the director or head Indian) and reed /carricito/ pipes, called rué, for the tukui dance; more rarely, the kaikrá (small cane flute) and the uosekpué, flute made of deer tibia. In the parichará dance they use: a stick with kevei rattles or wild pig's hoofs (the director only), tubes of yagrumo to make hoarse sounds (perhaps in imitation of the grunt of váquiros). The above-mentioned leaf skirt, by the movement which they impart to it, also produces a very pleasant rustling sound and perhaps this is directed toward imitating more expressively the noise of váquiros in the forest. There is no doubt that formerly the rattles that men and women wore on their armlets, anklets, necklaces, earrings, and burls or tassels of the mosá (women's guayuco /"covering"/), contributed to marking the rhythm and added to the noise. In the marik dance hollow sticks of uaronká, a kind of bamboo, are used, and with them they hit the ground and keep time.

535 70. All these dances are done in a circle, and the Indians form this by placing the right hand on the shoulder of the person preceding; but the circle is not closed, leaving the leader's right hand free. The movements are regular and slow. When they dance the tukui and the parichará at the same time (a very frequent thing), the latter dancers form the inside circle and the former the outer one.

Those who dance the parichará always move with their faces toward the center and accompany the singing with toots

Hunting

/82 cont. /

- 224 and fishing equipment: bow and arrows, blowgun and quiver,
- 226 traps and nets, harpoon and hook. Poisons for the same: curare
- 278 and several kinds of Verbascum. Culinary equipment: grater,
- 415 manioc strainer, a fine sieve, baking pan, small mats, ollas, large wide-mouthed jars for catching rain, and mixing bowls.
- 342 Ranchos or temporary dwellings and houses of fixed location: the former rectangular and the latter circular with conical
- 291 roofs. Items of clothing and adornment: loincloths, feminine
- 301 guayucos, moriche /palm/ sandals, wrist and ankle rings,
- 513 garters, foliage coverings /pampanillas/, halos, necklaces and
- 482 earrings; hammocks, bags, and straps for carrying children.
- 854 Their household items: small benches, pothooks, camazas
- 352 /large gourd dishes/, awls, guayares, and an infinity of baskets.
- 412 Their instruments of navigation: paddle and pole, balsas and
- 415 canoes made from tree trunks or with their bark /correa/ only.
- 501 Their textiles: with the spindle, fibers twisted ~~the~~ thigh,
- 283 other braided fibers and small weavings done on rudimentary
- 286 looms. Their musical instruments: timbrels, whistles /pipes/,
- 534 flutes, war trumpets /botutos/, and drums. Their agricultural
- 241 cultivations: yucca, plantains, maize, cane, ají, ayama /gourd plant/, cotton, tobacco, and various sorts of tubers.
- 252 The preparation of foodstuffs: boiled and roasted food, cassava
- 262 and mafioco /maize flour/ ground in a mortar, guarapos /sugar-
- 273 cane juice/ and purées, fermented and nonfermented. Etc., etc.
- 179. It should be made clear that these Indians for many
- 177 generations have, through other neighboring intermediary tribes,
- 439 been obtaining some instruments of our European civilization:
- [41] knives, machetes, chícoras, axes, fishhooks, firearms, files,
- [412] mirrors, glass beads, cloth for loincloths /guayucos/. But
- (301) they still remember a time when they used to make their loin-
- (291) cloths and straps for carrying children from the bark of special
- 287 trees; when they made their fishhooks with thorns from plants
- 314 or barbs from fish; when they made their arrows with tips of
- 411 bone, wood, or a special cane; when they used dextrales (stone
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/For further information about changes and continuities in many specific aspects of Kamarakoto culture from aboriginal to modern times, see categories 177 and 178, pp. 273-279./

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before w and by the presence of slight breathing between these sounds.

224. *Dug-out (canoe) — kuriyara. This word is likewise common to most Carib dialects and has been adopted in South American Spanish ("curiara") and English ("corial" — a word that has nothing to do with "coracle"). In Carib generally kanawa (etc.) means any kind of boat and kuriyara (etc.) means a particular kind, a dug-out with pointed ends. The Kamarakotos use no boats except the kuriyara and usually use this word but are acquainted also with the word kan. wa which, to them, is virtually a synonym of kuriyara.

225. Paddle — kan. wa-parre.
226. Man's carrying frame — wayare.

1. Musical instruments and dances.

227. *Bugle (straight bamboo tube blown like a trumpet) — kamai.
Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kama:yen.
228. Flageolet (end-flute) — lue, lwe, rué. (The word also designates the reed from which these flutes are made.)
229. *A small variety of lue — kaikara. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kaikala, "side-flute."
230. Flute (side-flute) — nan-nau.
231. *Horn (cow's horn blown on side, not end) — kacho. This is the local Spanish "cacho." Cows are quite unknown among the Kamarakotos and this instrument is a recently imported novelty.
232. *Gourd or calabash rattle — maraka. This word, with little variation, is general in Carib dialects and also occurs in Arawak and, like the instrument, it has been adopted in American Spanish and is passing into American English.
233. *Drum — sambura. Taurepán, sambura. Makuchi (Williams) sambu-ra sambura. In various forms the word is general in Carib and cognate words occur in many non-Carib languages, e. g. (Koch-Grünberg) in Guinaw sambola, in Shiriana samborra, and in Maku sambula. Williams suggests that this word might be native, but it is otherwise universally believed to come from the Romance, Spanish, Portuguese, French, "tambor," "tambur," "tambour," ultimately from the Arabic. The evidence does point this way, but with Williams I feel some reservations on the subject.

*192 kochino
[231]

cochino (pig)

This is hardly a useful word at present, as there are no pigs there now, but it is known.

kurastana

platano (plantain)

This is an old borrowing, so thoroughly Caribized that its Spanish origin has apparently not been noticed before.

[135] oro, woro
[439]

oro (gold)

Although gold occurs in this area the Kamarakotos appear to have been unaware of it until they discovered that it can be traded to the Whites.

patiya

patilla (watermelon)

This is supposed to be a Carib word, but I believe that the Kamarakotos have received it from Venezuelan Spanish (which may, indeed, have had it from some other Carib language).

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These words all apply to things that were received by the Indians directly or indirectly from Spanish-speaking people and not to native things except tapara and oro and even these apply to things for which there do not appear to be old Carib words. The drum is usually supposed to be introduced but may not be. Dogs are native and there is a Carib word for "dog," but the Kamarakotos may have received them from Spanish-speaking people.

On the other hand, there are introduced things for which the Kamarakotos have Carib words, among them:

<u>kasuru</u>	glass beads
<u>peoi</u>	nail
<u>umamari</u>	mirror
<u>waka</u>	ax
<u>marisa</u>	knife
<u>kutsupara</u>	machete
<u>kulū-kulū</u>	file
<u>kōroitoko</u>	chicken

531 which a design had been painted, although this is common practice among
 532 many Indians of this general part of South America, e.g. the Waiwals. The
 nearest approach toward any purely graphic impulse that I saw was the occasion-
 al scratching of drawings on mud walls of houses. These were puerile in the
 extreme and resembled the first attempts at drawing by an infant in our culture,
 with no real intent or result of embellishment. 162

Musical Instruments

114 The musical instruments of all the South American Indians have recent-
 ly (1935) been elaborately monographed by Ixikowitz, who is mainly followed
 in the following brief summary of Kamarakoto instruments. Original descrip-
 tions of such instruments among allied tribes are of course given in the various
 [128] works of explorers particularly Roth and Koch-Grünberg. My observations on
 Kamarakoto instruments are not exhaustive, but include all the common instru-
 ments. Those observed may be inserted in Ixikowitz's classification as follows:

534

I. Idiophones.

Percussion.

Rattles.

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| Jingle rattles. | 1. Seed-shell necklaces,
limb-bands, etc. |
| Hollow rattles | 2. Gourd rattles. |
| Stamping tubes | (Probably occur but were
not seen.) |

II. Membranophones.

- | | |
|----------------------------|----------------|
| Two-headed drums | 3. Dance drum. |
|----------------------------|----------------|

III. Cordophones (not used).

IV. Aerophones.

- | | |
|---------------|---|
| Free. | (Buzz-disc known, but not
really used as a musical
or sound-producing instru-
ment.) |
|---------------|---|

Valve.

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------------|
| Simple trumpets. | 4. End-blown wooden trumpet. |
| | 5. Side-blown horn trumpet. |

Reed instruments (not observed).

Flutes

Ductless

- | | |
|------------------------|----------------------|
| Transverse, with stops | 6. Side-blown flute. |
|------------------------|----------------------|

162 [see footnote on p. 326, category 116 - Analysis]

Duct flutes

With deflector (and stops) 7. End-blown flute, plug-flute, or flageolet.

[114]

In Roth's earlier and less scientific classification these various instruments would appear as:

- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------|
| I. Wind | 4. Wooden trumpet. |
| | 5. Horn trumpet. |
| | 6. Flute. |
| | 7. Flageolet. |
| II. Reed (not observed) | |
| III. String (not used) | |
| IV. Percussion | 1. Seed pods. |
| | 2. Rattles. |
| | 3. Skin drum. |
| V. Friction (not observed) | |

[114]

Von Hornbostel's classification (in Koch-Grünberg) is essentially like that of Izikowitz but less detailed.

1. The numerous necklaces and arm or leg-bands to which are attached jingling objects are in effect jingle-rattles. Some of these are often worn in everyday life without definitely musical intention. [53] Jingling arm and leg-bands are, however, sometimes especially donned for dancing and then may be classed [P24] as true musical instruments. Those seen were all of hard seed pods or small [237] fruit shells. Quite possibly hoof, bone, and beetle-wing jingle rattles, widespread in this part of the world, are also known but they must be relatively rare.

2. The Kamarakoto rattle is the well-known maraka (or "maraca"), a gourd rattle with a short wooden handle by which it is shaken. The handle passes entirely through the hard, hollow gourd, in which seeds or pebbles provide the sounding agency. [17] Nordenskiöld and Izikowitz have shown how widespread such rattles are and the latter concludes that they have been diffused from a Central American focus, not, as has been claimed, exclusively or particularly by the Arawaks although, among other ethnic groups, these Indians [12] had a part in its spread. The Kamarakotos use the word maraka for it, an international word that has spread perhaps through the Tupi "língua geral" into many, but not all, Carib and Arawak dialects. As is well known this instrument [17] and the name "maraca" for it have been adopted in the Spanish-American culture of northern South America and the West Indies and with the recent popularity of the music of this region (especially Cuba) have become known to virtually the whole civilized world. The Kamarakotos' use of the instrument may confidently be considered aboriginal, as (collaterally) the source and not a derivative of the Venezuelan (Cuban, etc.) maraca. They use the rattle for

They use the rattle for

- 534 dancing, but a legend suggests its connection with magic, a connection which
535 Izikowitz believes to have been involved in the spread of this instrument. In
773 this legend a maraka appears as a magical instrument the sounding of which
224 causes peccaries, the favorite prey of hunters, to appear. In fact the use of the
rattle in dancing is probably connected with this sort of hunting magic, although
the connection is not now clearly recognized by the Indians.

- 534 3. The Kamarakotos make drums (Fig. 68) of various sizes but all are
constructed in the same way and all are light and portable so that the player
can carry one and dance at the same time. The kettledrum and the tubular
(open bottom) drum are unknown, only the two-headed form being used. The
body is made of a section of a tree trunk (a white, soft, unidentified wood) of
appropriate diameter, with the center hollowed out. A single round hole is
[237] made in the side as an air vent. The drumheads are made of hide, deer, lapa,
peccary, etc. — a specimen has deerskin on one end and peccary on the other
and apparently any hide of proper size is used indiscriminately. The hair-side
is out on the finished drum but the hair is removed from the exposed surface.
[284] The skin is lashed by spiral curagua windings to a liana hoop of proper size to
fit snugly on the drum body onto which it is slipped. It is held in place and the
drumhead stretched by placing a second hoop distal to it (nearer the end of the
drum) on each end and these tightening hoops, which are not fastened to the
drumhead or body, are drawn toward each other by a crisscross lashing of heavy
cords. Where these cross, at the middle of the side of the drum, a circular
lashing of the same cord is fastened and from this a carrying cord projects,
which may be made into a loop by tying its end to one of the lashings. The
drum is carried in one arm and played with a single stick held in the other hand.

- 114 The origin and distribution of drums in South America have given rise
171 to extensive discussion, most of which is adequately summarized by Izikowitz.
174 The pre-Columbian distribution cannot now be exactly reconstructed except
534 that it was certainly wide. The kettledrum is the oldest and from it an open-
bottomed drum developed in Mexico and Central America. It was formerly
supposed that two-headed drums were all post-Columbian but Izikowitz has
shown that such drums are indigenous at least in Peru and adjacent regions.
On the other hand Izikowitz agrees with most previous students in concluding
that the drum was unknown in northeastern South America (Amazonia, the
Guianas, Venezuela, and the West Indies, at least) until introduced by Euro-
peans. Only a few students have ventured a contrary opinion, for example,
Williams says of the Makuchi word sanbura, "This may perhaps be a native
word as the drum must have existed before the advent of Europeans." Roth has
pointed out apparently conclusive evidence that the first Europeans, including
Columbus himself, found single-membrane drums in use in the West Indies,
evidence apparently overlooked by Izikowitz. A few early travelers in the
Guianas and in Amazonia also mention what seem to be one-membrane drums

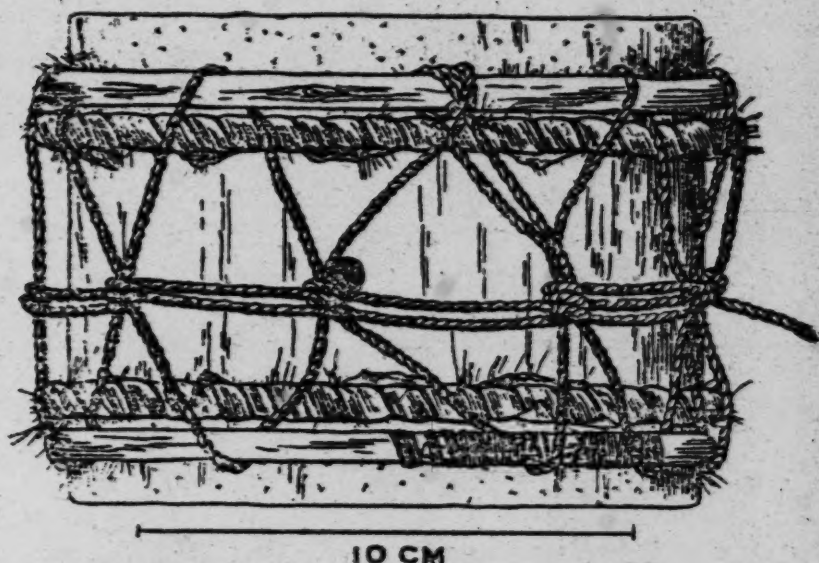


Fig. 68 — Kamarakoto Drum.

A small hand drum such as is carried by the drummer in a parichara dance. Drums up to twice this size or rather more are made in essentially the same way.

[535]

114 (see Roth) but these observations are too recent to exclude indirect European
171 influence, improbable as this is for drums of such a typically American sort.
174 Roth concludes that the double-membrane drum was probably not European but
534 introduced from North America (i. e. inferentially from the North American
Indians) but after the European invasion, a conclusion that has not been accepted
and that is not very seriously supported by any cogent evidence.

The evidence that the drum is not indigenous in this area is chiefly that it shows almost unmistakable European influence in the usual method of lashing and that over this whole area, regardless of linguistic stocks, it is called by names which, despite Williams' doubts, are almost certainly derived from the Spanish or Portuguese, of which the Kamarakoto word sambura is typical.

This evidence proves that the drums of this region show some, perhaps only indirect, European influence. They do not prove that the drums are of European origin or that they are not derived by post-Columbian evolution from an indigenous drum. Izikowitz, himself, concludes that the essentially similar drums of the Chipayas (southwestern Bolivia) are modified derivatives of pre-Columbian drums and he also notes the difficulty of being sure that a European

114 type of drum has not simply replaced or modified a purely Indian type over
171 wide areas, although he seems not to have paid sufficient heed to his own warn-
174 ings when he drew his sweeping conclusions. It is impossible to be quite sure,
534 either way, but certainly the flat statement that this region had no drums until
European introduction is quite unjustified and it is possible, or even probable,
that a native drum existed and that it acquired a European name when and be-
cause it was modified by introduction of European technical elements of con-
struction.

171 Roth emphasizes that British Guiana drums have a "silent" end (i.e. one
534 that is not struck) on which there is a "resounder" or snare. The Kamarakoto
drums have no snare and the two ends are equivalent in structure and tonal qual-
ity, even though they are commonly of different sorts of skin.

534 4. The typical instrument of the parichara dance, also used in several
[535] other dances, is a very simple and primitive trumpet called kamai. These are
[829] plain hollow tubes, open at both ends and with any internal partitions removed,
of Cecropia (doubtless the primitive material, "yagumo" in Venezuelan
Spanish) or bamboo. They are played, like our metallic trumpets, by applying
the mouth to one open end and causing the compressed lips to vibrate by blow-
ing. There are no stops or any special mouthpiece and each kamai produces a
single note, but several different sizes, each with its own note, are used by the
different players at the same time. We could not detect any particular relation-
ship or harmony between the different pitches of kamai blown simultaneously.

[53] Among other Indian tribes such trumpets are often more or less elaborately
decorated, but no decoration whatever had been applied to the several Kamara-
koto examples that I observed. This is in keeping with the almost complete
absence of extrinsic ornamentation on Kamarakoto articles of manufacture.
There is no question that this instrument is entirely indigenous. It is among
the oldest of all native South American instruments still in use and the Kamara-
kotos have it in irreducibly simple and primitive form.

[177] 5. One side-blown cow-horn trumpet was seen, but it was an object of
curiosity to the Indians themselves and represents a very recent intrusion, not
[439] part of Kamarakoto culture. Cows are completely unknown in this region and
the manufactured trumpet was imported by intertribal trade as a curiosity,
probably ultimately from British Guiana although I could not surely confirm
[177] this. Izikowitz notes the presence of such trumpets at various points in South
America (the nearest in the Roraima region, represented by a specimen in the
Göteborgs Museum) and believes that they represent Negro influence.

534 Although their use of an object so foreign to them is not a very vital
177 datum, it has some bearing on diffusion and transfer of use, which is here seen
[202] in its earliest stage. It is, from this point of view, interesting that Izikowitz
says that in this region (the Guianas, Roraima, etc.) side-blown trumpets in
general and cow-horn trumpets in particular are used only for signaling. The

534 197 Kamarakotos do not signal with trumpets and were using their cow-horn trumpet along with the native kamai in dancing. They call it by the colloquial Spanish word "cacho" (kacho). The

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[535] 6. Without prompting, native informants spoke of a side-blown flute, called naunan. Such flutes, highly variable in detail, are common in the Guiana region (Roth, Izikowitz) and are known from the Taurepánes (von Hombostel). Unfortunately I can give no reliable details because no naunan was owned by any of the nearby Indians and I could find no one who would make one, although several professed acquaintance with it.

534 7. One of the commonest and, to our ears, by far the best of Kamarakoto instruments is an end-blown duct flute with deflector and stops, or a ping flute (in Izikowitz's terminology), in other words, a native flageolet. The generic name for this is lue (or rue - whence the place name Luepa in the Gran Sabana), from the reed of which it is made, and the commonest variety, a small flageolet, is called kaikara.¹⁶³ The kaikara has a proximal beeswax deflector, leaving only a narrow superior air passage, and four primary stops. These, as well as the sound orifice immediately distal to the deflector, are made by burning. The most proximal of the four stops is placed at one-third of the distance from distal to proximal ends of the instrument and the other three stops evenly spaced between this and the distal end. A supplementary stop, thumb hole, is placed on the lower surface immediately below the first (most proximal) primary stop. This is stopped by the left thumb, while the left index and middle fingers cover the first two stops and right index and middle fingers the two more distal stops.

[535] This instrument has a rather weak but pure and pleasing tone not unlike [533] that of a European flute and with considerable range and variety so that, unlike any other Kamarakoto music, skillful playing on it was enjoyable to our ears. It is used in some dances, notably the tukúti (not the parichara), and, unlike any other instrument as far as we observed, it is also played (by men only) for simple pleasure and entertainment. I have even seen a young man wandering along by himself across the sabanas happily playing really pretty matches of melody on a kaikara as he went.

534 171 Izikowitz has shown that flutes of almost innumerable varieties are especially characteristic of aboriginal cultures in South America. In his class of plug flutes, to which the typical Kamarakoto flageolets belong, he distinguishes a purely Indian, pre-Columbian type, of which the kaikara just described might almost be taken as the prototype or classic example, as well as types modified under European influence and others which are native copies of old European models. The Kamarakoto flageolets show no trace of European influence.

As a supplement to this review, it seems advisable to list a few instruments not observed among the Kamarakotos but known among nearby tribes of similar culture:

163 [see footnote on p. 326, category 116 - Analysis]

● 534
171

Stamping tubes — Not seen, but said to occur. They are known from the Taurepánes and Makachis.

Friction idiophones of tortoise shell — Occurs among the Makachis, but probably not among Asekmas.

Humming top — Known among Taurepánes.

The following important South American instruments seem surely to be unknown to the Kamarakotos or their closest allies, a negative distributional fact of some interest:

Hollow log drum

Metal jingle rattles and bells

Kettledrum

Tubular drum

Cordophones, in general, especially the "musical bow"

Bullroarer

Shell trumpet

Pottery instruments in general: rattles, trumpets, flutes, etc.

Complex trumpets

Clarinets¹⁶⁴

Globular flutes

Notched flutes (queñas)

Flutes with attached ducts

Panpipes¹⁶⁵

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With the exception of the drum, which may be introduced and does show some (indirect) European influence, and the cow-horn trumpet which does not really belong in a list of musical instruments, the simple repertory of Kamarakoto instruments is strictly aboriginal and must nearly represent the pre-Columbian musical culture of this general region.

Transportation

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Although with fixed abodes and in no sense nomadic, the Kamarakotos are not sedentary. Within the group, they are in constant motion, visiting each other for dances and drinking parties, for hunting and fishing, for trading, or simply for variety. Individuals and small groups also make long journeys, mainly for trading, and they have explored almost all of southeastern Venezuela, from the last civilized settlements to the north to, and quite possibly beyond, the British and Brazilian borders to the east and south and well beyond the Caroní to the west.

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These journeys are almost exclusively by land. Unlike the island and coastal Caribs, the Kamarakotos use canoes mostly as an adjunct rather than as the main means of travel. We frequently met Indians who had walked long

164, 165 [see footnotes on pp. 326-27, category 116 - Analysis]

273 a large number of guests, allowing several days for preparations and assembling.
 574 Once under way, the party lasts without intermission, day and night,¹⁷⁷ until the drink is exhausted. This usually means two or three days and sometimes means a week or ten days. Men, women, and children assemble and participate on an equal footing, although the children and some of the women remain relatively sober. The drinks, pleasant in moderation, are nauseating in large quantities and it is common for participants to stagger out between rounds, vomit, and return to the fray. Drinkers who become unconscious are dumped somewhere on the ground or in a hammock, while the supply lasts, to recover.
 [574] These herculean drinking bouts are thus unattractive to a sober observer, but seem seldom to give rise to the seriously disorderly conduct or fighting that would be expected in a bout of equal proportions among more "civilized" people, or such as are reported by travelers among other tribes.

[535] A long, social drinking party of this sort is almost invariably accompanied by dancing, also purely social in purpose and practically continuous as long as anyone can stand up to dance.

Dances.

535 There are about a dozen special dances. Some of these are reserved for special occasions, but a long drinking and dancing party involves the performance of at least two and usually several in sequence and alternation.

[177] The most common dance is the parichara, which is danced with variation all over this part of South America, even among some non-Carib tribes. It can be danced at any time, night or day, and is accompanied by drums and trumpets (kamai) and by singing, but not by flageolets. Some or all of the men wear a special costume, the parichara-pon, consisting of a diadem, aro, and a skirt, imaripadai, of maripada palm leaves. As we saw it danced, only the cacique, who directed the dance and led the singing and music, wore the aro but most of the males wore the imaripadai. Women also participate and wear no fixed costume but usually adorn themselves with woven cotton circlets on the hair from which streamers with tufts of down and other decorations fall down the back. Each person dances individually but a man's wife or wives usually accompany him and the sexes are not segregated or specialized in pattern, although the men provide all the music. The musicians likewise dance and are not set apart as an orchestra.

[533] The dance is monotonous to the observer, continuing indefinitely with no noteworthy variations, with a simple succession of long and short beats. On the long beat a stiff-legged step is taken, usually but not invariably with the right leg, and on the short beat a quicker, springing step is taken on the other foot. The body swings forward and backward in rhythm, flinging up the palm-leaf skirts of the men in a manner suggestive of the Polynesian hula or of what is

¹⁷⁷ [see footnote on p. 329, category 116 - Analysis]

535 Aside from the parichara, the commonest dance is the tukili¹⁸⁰ (Fig. 77), literally hummingbird, which is commonly, perhaps always, performed between sessions of the parichara, much as one might alternate waltzes and fox trots.

[302] For the tukili¹⁸⁰, the participants remove the parichara-pon and it has no special costume although the body may be painted black and white for it. 180 It is also

● [534] danced at any time and with the parichara instruments plus flageolets, flutes, or both. The rhythm is even simpler than that of the parichara, an almost unvarying 1-2, and the step is simply a slow shuffling or a rhythmically accented walk.

A less common dance (and one I did not myself see) is the warepan, which [302] can be danced only in the afternoon. The dancers are spotted from ankles to head with red paint ("onoto") and draped, in some way not clear from their descriptions, with cotton cloth. The ware and katol² dances are danced only [534] at night, without costume. The mari dance is led and sung by a piache and considered a "piache's dance," but is danced by everyone and on social occasions. The various remba dances, on the other hand, are strictly medicinal.

533 Singing by men characterizes the dances, but it is not confined to this sex or these occasions. Women frequently sing at their work, sing lullabies to the babies, etc.

Other Pastimes.

517 Dancing and drinking are the favorite but by no means the only diversions of the Indians. Some productive activities, notably fish-poisoning, are such gay social occasions that they seem more like games than like work. There are also true games that are enjoyed in place of (or generally in addition to) dancing

526 — nothing takes the place of drinking. Of these a favorite is a combination [223] race and wrestling match followed by drinking and, frequently, also dancing. Starting at a given point, some distance away (it may be several kilometers), the racers make for a house where a batch of kachiri has been prepared. Here other men wait at the door, and as the runners arrive, their way into the house is blocked and a wrestling match ensues. If a runner can make his way into the house without being thrown (or losing his footing) he rushes up and touches the kachiri trough, whereupon the women, who have been waiting inside, pour kachiri on him — a singular reward for victory. General drinking follows.

Wrestling (Fig. 78) is a favorite sport among both men and boys, but is quite unlike our version. One contestant grasps the other around the waist and without changing his grip endeavors to force the opponent off his feet. This opponent does not ordinarily grasp the first, but otherwise struggles and tries to defeat his purpose, winning if he can break away without losing his footing.

Swimming, which is a great sport especially among the boys, is mentioned elsewhere.

180 [see footnote on p. 329, category 116 - Analyst]
 1 [text continues on p. 249]



Fig. 77 - Kamarakotos Dancing.

The drummer and another male participant in the tukui dance. This is the drum shown in Fig. 68.²

¹ [See p. 204, Category 116 -- Analyst]

- *²⁸⁵₁₇₁ by coiling of the best sort, and no true coiling occurs in this area. The skill involved in a fine Carib pictorial twill and its esthetic values appear to me to be as great as in the famous coiled ware of some more northern Indians, but it can hardly be expected to have the peculiar qualities of coiling.
- *²⁸⁵₄₈₂₁₁₄ 157. This term has been preferred by various English writers and is correctly descriptive as to function but seems to me to be misleading as to form, since there is nothing sack-like about these carriers.
- *²⁸⁵₄₁₁₂₈₃ 158. A specimen possibly Arekuna but surely not Kamarakoto has a rawhide thong — an almost unique example of the use of rawhide rather than plant fibers for such purposes.
- *²⁸⁵₂₂₇_[171]_[224] 159. Roth calls these "creels" and apparently they are used in British Guiana for carrying fish, however caught. Kamarakotos use them only as traps and carry fish in any carrying (true) basket. If the fish are so lively that they will not stay in an ordinary basket, they are killed — in the case of small fish, by biting their heads.
- *²⁸⁵₁₉₂₁₉₄ 160. I did not myself hear this pronunciation from a native, but was told that it is "correct."
- *²⁸⁵₅₃₁ 161. Some Indians are said now to paint similar designs on baskets after they are woven but this (technically degenerate) process is not used by the Kamarakotos.
- ⁵³²₁₇₇ 162. It is worth recording that in one case several Christian crosses, a non-native element in design, had been scratched on a house, and that in another an exceedingly crude but recognizable figure of a man on a horse was seen, something even more exotic than a cross in Kamarata where no horse has ever set foot. Even these few rough attempts at graphic art have evidently been made under non-Indian influence and by one of the more sophisticated members of the group.
- ⁵³⁴₈₂₄ 163. Both Roth and von Hombostel give evidently cognate words as applying to a transverse bamboo flute, but the Kamarakoto kaikara is certainly a reed flageolet.
- ⁵³⁴₁₁₄ 164. I am not certain that a simple sort of reed instrument has not been devised, but I saw none and the evidence is very doubtful. If so, it is doubtless an innovation under foreign influence.

● 534
171 165. Panpipes are so widespread that this omission is striking, but I can find no evidence for their occurrence anywhere in this immediate group of tribes.

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171 166. Kamarakoto women follow the universal custom of Venezuela and adjacent regions in carrying weighty objects balanced on the head for short distances, but not for long carries as when traveling.

[119] 167. Here again Nordenskiöld's generalizations are not correct as applied to our area despite his encyclopedic knowledge and general accuracy. He considers chest-straps typical of this region and head-straps as mainly or wholly western in South America.

601 168. yakon is the same word as akon. The y is not here used only in compounds, being part of a disjunctive form as well, but it is not consistently used to distinguish a male from a female relationship.

[171] 169. The Kamarakotos are aware of the fact that this word is peculiar to them and told me that the Gran Sabana Indians address their mothers as amai, but that this is not a Kamarakoto word.

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674 170. Our camp with its overflowing abundance of desirable and poorly or not guarded objects must have presented an almost irresistible temptation, but on the whole the sorely tried honesty of the Indians was equal to the test. It is true that a few small objects were stolen, or perhaps appropriated would be a fairer word — in some cases it must have been confusing to the Indians to know what desirable objects, such as spent cartridges, were fair prey and what were not. In one case application to the cacique procured the return of an appropriated object with the explanation that it had been believed abandoned. At least one valuable small object, a good pencil, disappeared permanently.

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439 171. When we started trading with them, the Indians wanted no money except a few small silver coins to use as ornaments and they complained that a previous party had wanted to pay them in money, which was useless to them. When they eventually learned the value (to us) of Venezuelan coins and that they could spend the coins with us for goods of real value, they gladly accepted them. It was not uncommon for an Indian worker to ask for his pay in silver and then to reappear in an hour or so and spend it all for trade goods, which he could have had in the first place without using the money. This developed into a delightful game amusing to everyone but our paymaster. See Fig. 74. ²

¹ [For Fig 74, see p. 228a, category 116 - Analysis]

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172. The literature, especially that of travel as opposed to scientific study, is full of ridicule of the Indians because they do not know the intrinsic worth of articles. These statements are usually naive because they show that it is the traveler, who did not know what "intrinsic worth" means. Except for jewelry and a few other uses unknown to the Indians, gold has no intrinsic worth. In our civilization, but not that of the Indians, it has an extrinsic worth as a token of the real value that it in itself does not intrinsically have. When an Indian picks up a nugget and trades it for a needle, he gets by far the best of the bargain on the basis of intrinsic worth: he gets something that he could not make and that is of great use to him for something that cost him no real work and that is worthless to him, and so gets something for nothing. It must not be supposed, however, that there are any Indians left, even beyond the limits of intensive exploration, who do not now have a better idea than this of the value (to the traveler) of gold, or of other articles of regular trade.

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173. Koch-Grünberg, who seems to have penetrated farther than anyone else into Carib religion, gives the texts of several Taurepán magic spells, but these were apparently common property and not exclusive to the piaches.

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174. No mention was ever made of the use of a rattle, maraka, by the piache and since this is almost universal and is indeed believed by some to be the primary purpose of the maraka, I feared that I had missed an essential point. [121] I now learn, however, on Koch-Grünberg's unimpeachable authority that Taurepán piaches do not use the maraka, and this must be true also of the Kamarakotos.

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175. The following remarkable incident was related to me by Marie Angel as having occurred during her previous visit to the tribe. One of the boys employed at the camp was seized by a kanaima and retired to his hammock to die. All entreaties to him fell on deaf ears and Mrs. Angel finally said in his presence, through an interpreter, that if he was going to die anyway she was not going to have him do so at length in her camp, that she was going to get a gun and if he was still in his hammock when she returned, she would put him out of his misery. When she approached with the gun, the boy suddenly sprang from the hammock and ran off, entirely cured. Since Indians do certainly die from such attacks, this anecdote is not to be taken as evidence that they are feigned.

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176. But I did not open these because this would certainly have been resented and the friendship of the living was far more essential to my work than this slight additional knowledge of the dead.

273 177. Of course all individuals spend intervals sleeping, but some are
574 awake and hilarious at all times.

523 178. This is a free and not a literal rendering. The language of these
539 songs, despite the fact that they can include some improvisation, is not common
speech but is "poetic," probably archaic, and is not entirely clear even to all
the Indians. The translation given conveys the sense of the words as they under-
stand them.

[195] 179. In prose language the equivalent would be some expression like
autsimbe dai? "I am satisfied, pleased."

535 180. The Makuchi song given by Roth refers to the white clay paint,
171 which was evidently essential to the dance in its more primitive or more stereo-
typed form, but in all the Kamarakoto dances such pseudo-ritualistic compul-
sions have become voluntary and are often omitted — this is true even of the
parichara-pon.

524 181. A boy at Uruyén made a remarkably good small model of an air-
153 plane, including workable wheels and a propeller that turned in the wind. I
could not learn that he received any help or inspiration from more sophisticated
sources and he maintained that the work was entirely his own idea and execution,
but I find this almost incredible and cannot record it as a fact.

773 182. But as will be seen, this legend or myth is composite and consists
of several quite distinct stories united by assigning the leading role to the same
character.

773 183. It is interesting, as illustrative of his own comprehension and in-
115 sistence on the value of complete accuracy, that Antonio himself demanded
126 this procedure and refused to leave a passage until convinced of my thorough
128 comprehension of it.

539 184. This is adopted as the best non-technical transcription of the name
maicha?.

[415] 185. A small gourd vessel, wai in Kamarakoto.

[825] 186. The kind called atsi:gamo, the Venezuelan "cachicamo."

● [534] 187. maraka, a gourd rattle with a wooden handle.

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171 of ticks (which is highly doubtful), but the same thing is done where it is obvious-
 372 ly and wholly harmful and there is little doubt that this is merely attempted
 311 rationalization of an essentially irrational custom.

272 231. This ¹belongs to the colonial level in the sense that it was invented
 273 in colonial times to deal with a colonial introduction of new foodstuff, but to
 176 the aboriginal level in the sense that it was a purely Indian invention without
 177 direct European influence.
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177 232. Of course this ²may be a modern introduction in this tribe, but it
 235 belongs generally to the colonial level.

178 233. This instrument ³and its unchanged survival are emphasized because
 534 in many tribes the flageolet, or similar flute-like instrument, was definitely
 179 modified under European influence, but the Kamarakotos retain the purely
 aboriginal form.

114 234. As discussed elsewhere, some students believe that these ⁴belong to
 373 what I here call the colonial level, but I believe them to be aboriginal.

000 235. I do not speak here of the strictly religious aspects of this work.
 matters of opinion which it is not my business to discuss. Regardless of their
 own intentions, the work of missionaries always has widespread results also in
 the non-religious sphere which may legitimately be studied and evaluated quite
 aside from belief in any creed. These results are sometimes admirable, but it
 is an open secret that they are also sometimes deplorable. One may share the
 opinion that it is better to believe in Christ than in *kanaima* and still believe
 that it is better to retain native skills than to be taught to depend on insecure
 importation.

Similarly in speaking later of how little the Indians have to gain from
 the process of "civilization," religion is entirely excluded from the discussion
 and no judgment of its value to the Indians is implied.

236. These and the other suggestions made are not theoretical abstractions.
 Examples of impoverishment by the contrary policy can be cited not only from
 Venezuela but also from every country in the Americas.

123 237. Some reluctance was encountered but every person whom I asked
 126 finally accepted. In the midst of operations, when all scruples seemed to have
 been conquered, the tribe suddenly and unanimously refused to be measured
 any more. On investigation, I finally learned that this was because the English
 numeral "eight," which I had several times called out to my wife or to

¹ [i.e. the cane prerr - Analyst]
² [i.e. chickens - Analyst] ³ [i.e. the flageolet - Analyst]
⁴ [i.e. square shelters - Analyst]